The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

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Are Our Hands Really Dirty?

By Gerald E. Knoff

Barth versus Brunner on Communism

August Books

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In This Issue

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August 4, 1948

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Calendar of Coming Events

June 25-Aug. 20. Fellowship of Southern Churchmen's Summer Work Projects for Students: Rural Health, Crossville, Tenn.; Labor-Industry, Atlanta; Interracial Conference Center Development, Asheville, N.C.

July 1-Aug. 8. Lambeth Conference. London.

July 4-Aug. 29. Chautauqua Assembly's Department of Religion, Chautauqua, N.Y.

July 29-Aug. 5. Presbyterian, U.S., Young People's Leadership School, Montreat, N.C.

July 30-Aug. 8. A.F.S.C. Institute of International Relations, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.

Aug. 1-7. New York State Council of Churches School of Christian Education, Silver Lake.

Aug. 1-8. Third National Workshop for Directors of Christian Education, Lake Geneva, Wis.

Aug. 2-6. Peace Conference of Midwestern Friends, Richmond, Ind.

Aug. 2-12. American Christian Ashram (Federal Council Department of Evangelism), Green Lake, Wis.

Aug. 3-8. Methodist Southeastern Jurisdiction Pastors' Conference, Lake Junaluska, N.C.

Aug. 3-11. Northern Baptist Convention Ministers' Conference, National Conference on Evangelism, Green Lake, Wis.

Aug. 5-11. Presbyterian, U.S., Foreign Missions Conference, Montreat, N.C.

Aug. 8-15. A.F.S.C. Institute of International Relations, Spencer, N.Y.

Aug. 8-20. Chautauqua Assembly Preachers' Conference and Workshop, Chautauqua, N.Y.

Aug. 10-17. Presbyterian World Alliance, Geneva, Switzerland.

Aug. 11-19. Northern Baptist Convention National Missions Conference, Green Lake, Wis.

Aug. 12-14. New York State Churchmen's Seminar on Industrial and Labor Relations, Ithaca.

Aug. 12-18. Presbyterian, U.S., Home Missions Conference, Montreat, N.C.

Aug. 14-17. Lutheran World Federation Executive Committee, Arnheim, Holland.

Aug. 16-26. American Christian Ashram (Federal Council Department of Evangelism), Camp Sierra, Calif.

Aug. 16-28. United Christian Youth Movement Midwest Conference, Lake Geneva, Wis.

Aug. 17-22. Seventh Day Baptist General Conference, North Loup, Neb.

Aug. 18-Sept. 14. International Study Conference on Women and World Reconstruction (Y.W.C.A.), New York City.

Aug. 20-30. Northern Baptist Convention National Conference on Religious Music, Art and Drama, Green Lake, Wis.

Aug. 22-27. Chautauqua Assembly's Institute of World Missions, Chautauqua, N.Y.

Aug. 22-28. School of Leadership Education (New York State Council of Churches), Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, Rochester, N.Y.

Aug. 22-29. A.F.S.C. High School Institute of International Relations, Milford, Ind.

Aug. 23-27. Fellowship of Southern Churchmen's Annual Summer Conference, Lincoln Academy, Kings Mountain, N.C.

Aug. 27-Sept. 4. World Council of Churches First General Assembly, Amsterdam.

(Announcements will be printed in this calendar as received, but must reach the editorial office at least three weeks in advance of the date mentioned.)

As We Go To Press —

Wallace Party Launched

HENRY WALLACE'S third party--now christened the Progressive party--got off to a rousing start at its Philadelphia convention. The crowds were larger and the enthusiasm more spontaneous and convincing than at either the Republican or Democratic conclave. In large measure, the enthusiasm was provided by the thousands of young people who turned out to sing and cheer for the new party's candidates. Speeches at the convention made it clear that the party's campaign will be largely based on the claim that only Wallace is a genuine peace candidate. If the European crisis does not abate before November, this may bring him more votes than the old parties have believed possible. The outdoor rally that closed the convention showed, among other things, that Mr. Wallace will not get much help from his running-mate, Senator Taylor. Disillusionment with the two old parties, which might make thousands of independents consider voting for Wallace, will hardly make them ready to chance occupancy of the White House by the man who tried to woo the nation with a tenth-rate rendition of that barber shop classic, "I'll love you as I never loved before."

Tension Easing over Berlin

OUTWARDLY both sides in the Berlin crisis are still adamant and defiant. Nevertheless, there has been a distinct easing of the tension; the expectation is growing that a 4-power conference on the whole German issue will soon be arranged. Neither Russia nor the western allies wants war or is ready for it. Russia's decreasing truculence may be traced to the factors outlined in Edgar Snow's book, Stalin Must Have Peace, plus the Tito difficulty. The change in temper on the A-B-F side, which has brought a disavowal of any intention of trying to push armed convoys across the Russian zone to Berlin, reflects the shock administered Washington by the discovery that the countries of the European western union, when they met at the Hague, were united on only one thing, that they would not support the U.S. in a policy of force.

French Cabinet Falls

AFTER eight months in office, Robert Schuman's French government fell on July 19. Ostensibly, its fall was caused by the insistence of Socialist deputies that the military budget must be reduced by 12 billion francs. This demand for a drastic cut in French military appropriations, at a time of severe crisis with Russia and while the U.S. is raising its military budget to new heights and instituting conscription, jolted Washington. However, it represented French public opinion, for all parties except the De Gaullists favored it. Premier Schuman offered a cut of 8.5 billions, but the Socialists, whose votes had kept him in office, were adamant for the higher figure.

Parochial School Issue Potent

ADVICES from France state that the old issue of appropriating public funds for Roman Catholic schools had as much, or more, to do with the Schuman cabinet's fall as the question of military expenses. In our July 21 issue we told how this had become a sore point with the anti-clerical Socialists when the cabinet headed by Catholic M. Schuman got around the law prohibiting state grants to church schools. We warned of the danger to the government, but we did not think that defeat would come so quickly. However, the New York Times, in reporting the cabinet's fall, stated categorically that "the cabinet split came as a culmination of the long-standing friction between the Socialists and Popular Republicans (the Catholic party) over religious education." Whether the new cabinet being formed by Andre Marie will be able to withstand the church pressure that ruined M. Schuman, remains to be seen. M. Marie is a member of the old Radical Socialist party. (In the vocabulary of French politics that means a middle-of-the-road conservative.) But it is heavily loaded with Freemasons, and is therefore traditionally as anti-clerical as all the other brands of French socialism.

Orthodox-Protestant Rapprochement?

ON JULY 21 the New York Herald Tribune printed a long dispatch from Moscow which is bound to cause speculation. In describing the elaborate ceremonies which had been in progress there to celebrate the 500th anniversary of the independence of the Russian Orthodox Church, the dispatch said that one agreement reached by the ecclesiastics who had come from all parts of the Orthodox church world was "to establish close relations with Anglican and Protestant churches throughout the world." These, said the report, "adhere to canons and rites similar to those of the Orthodox churches," while the Roman Church was described as

"incompatible and hostile." At the same time, a majority of the church dignitaries voted that the Patriarch Alexii of Moscow should lead in forming a closer union of Orthodox churches and in broadening world ties. It is impossible, until fuller information is available, to tell what this means, or how much it means. One way to check its importance will be to see whether Alexii sends an official observer to Amsterdam.

Lutheran Relief Leader Killed

CHINA'S precarious airways have claimed another church leader--this time Dr. Daniel Nelson, relief director for China of the Lutheran World Federation. Dr. Nelson, his wife and their two children were killed in the crash of a flying boat off the coast of south China while on the way to Hongkong. He had just returned from consultation with Lutheran relief offices in this country. Dr. Nelson's father, like himself a missionary of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, was killed by bandits, and his brother, likewise a missionary, after being captured by Chinese Communists was never heard of again.

Archbishop Temple's Letters

WHY so much excitement should have been caused by the two letters the late Archbishop Temple wrote the Roman Catholic apostolic delegate to Great Britain during the war for transmission to the pope, is hard to understand. The letters may, as their custodian contends, have been a first feeler to "open the way for official and effective cooperation between Roman and non-Roman Christians in all matters that did not involve dogmatic principles and historical conflicts which divide Christendom." But if they were, that purpose was well hidden. The important fact about the letters--if any importance attached to them--was that the pope never bothered to acknowledge their receipt or to answer. This was at a time when, in public utterances, he was calling for the cooperation of "all men of good will."

Last Call for Amsterdam Help!

THE AMERICAN committee of the World Council is trying to raise $106,800 to help the churches of Asia and Africa, and the impoverished churches of Europe, get their delegates to Amsterdam. The fund is still about $7,000 under its goal. If you agree it is important that those churches should be represented in the first Assembly of the ecumenical council, there is just time to get a check to the committee at 297 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N.Y.

German Church Deplores American Policy

ONE of the unexpected products of the meeting of the Evangelical Church in Germany was a declaration, "A Word on the German People," which severely criticized all attempts to divide Germany, spoke of the boundaries contemplated in plans for a west Germany as "impossible," and declared that recent currency measures in the A-B-F zones had "brought misery to thousands of German families." The same statement called for an end to the use of prisoners as forced labor in Allied countries. Evidently the EKID, which has often shown its opposition to Russian policies, is also critical of American measures.

Korean Assembly Elects Rhee

ELECTION of Syngman Rhee as president of the American-sponsored government of south Korea came as no surprise. After the triumph of Rhee's party in the May election, it was certain that the National Assembly would make him the first president of the infant republic. Unfortunately, Dr. Rhee's nation covers only the southern half of Korea and is only as strong as its American support. In the north, the Russians will have no part of it; there are signs that they will now go ahead with a rival republic in their zone. Korea is the one spot on earth where the U.S. stands alone facing a hostile U.S.S.R. across a single boundary line. Trouble can start here as easily as in Berlin; perhaps more easily. Yet the American public shows next to no interest in what is going on.

Noted in the News

RUMANIA has annulled its concordat with the Vatican, which charges that it is a move to build up the "Moscow-sponsored" Orthodox Church. It probably is....A Filipino court has ruled that the bishops of the Aglipayan Church who recently were consecrated by bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church are no longer in control of, or members of, the Aglipayan Church. Appeals are in order, and years of litigation stretch ahead....The National Catholic Resettlement Council refused to back up President Truman's charge that the D.P. bill passed by Congress was anti-Catholic. The new law, said a formal statement by the council, "is not discriminatory as far as Catholics are concerned, despite statements to the contrary." Just the same, the law needs liberalizing.

The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY
Undenominational

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EDITORIAL

FEW THINGS in this life can change faster than the political outlook. That moth-eaten reminder has received reinforcement from the current presidential campaign. When the Democrats assembled for their nominating convention every indication pointed toward a campaign that would be little more than going through the motions. Their party was being torn apart internally. Leaders who controlled large blocks of votes had been openly, and at the last despairingly, trying to line up some candidate other than President Truman. In the early stages of the convention the delegates acted like men and women condemned presently to make a nomination for which they had no stomach and from which they expected to garner nothing but defeat. However, the President's acceptance speech has changed all that. The very bitterness with which the Republicans are denouncing it, and its central stratagem of an extra session of Congress, shows that they know this. It is still all but impossible to see where Mr. Truman can secure enough electoral votes to gain re-election. But it is now clear that there is going to be a red-hot campaign—one of the most fiercely fought in recent American history. The virulence of the campaign that is coming up may well have worldwide repercussions.

A Real Campaign After All

He Followed the Bottles Home

MAYBE the fact that a Florida drugstore has stopped selling liquor doesn't seem an event of cosmic proportions in these days of presidential campaigns, special sessions of Congress, showdowns with Russia and similar headline matters. Yet it is just possible that the reasons *why* a Florida drugstore has stopped selling liquor may have some cosmic significance. The drugstore in question is the mammoth affair in St. Petersburg owned and run by J. E. Webb. It is so big and sells so many different things, as winter visitors to that city of eternal sunshine know, that it has come to be known as Webb City. Its liquor department has been on a scale in keeping with the rest of the establishment: a $2,000,000 gross last year, with $100,000 profit. We don't know Mr. Webb, but we couldn't help noticing the reason the *South Bend Tribune* quotes him as giving for tossing that profitable liquor department out on July 31, and he must be quite a man. "I began mentally to follow those bottles," explained Mr. Webb, "and realized the trouble those bottles could cause and did cause." He followed the bottles, in his mind's eye, to their ultimate destination. When he reached there, Mr. Webb realized that, as a decent citizen not utterly bereft of powers of imagination, he had to get out of the liquor business. Perhaps if others who advertise or sell liquor would do what Mr. Webb did—follow the bottles home—it might have more effect than legislation.

The Macintosh Case Is Closed

NINETEEN years ago Canadian-born Prof. Douglas Clyde Macintosh of Yale, being then 52 years old, was refused United States citizenship because, though not a pacifist, he would not take oath to support the United States in any and every future war. He held that an American Christian, naturalized or native, must have his conscience in his own keeping in regard to participation in any future war, while agreeing that a citizen who might refuse military service in a war he deemed unjust would have to take his chances with whatever coercive or punitive measures the government might choose to employ. The case provoked much discussion. The Christian Century reverberated with it for months, and intermittently thereafter. A court of appeals reversed the judge who had refused naturalization, and the federal Supreme Court reversed the court of appeals, thus

bolting the door that had been slammed in the face of Professor Macintosh. But the Supreme Court has been known to reverse itself, especially when it has made as bad a decision as this one. During the war the court ruled on several cases in such a way as nearly to reverse its famous "Macintosh decision." But now the Macintosh case is closed. Professor Macintosh died on July 6. Aside from the rather accidental notoriety produced by the citizenship episode, Dr. Macintosh made for himself a substantial reputation as a scholarly theologian, a great teacher, and the author of a number of thoughtful books which will live after him.

Nuns May Teach in Secular Dress

HOW has the decision of the voters of North Dakota to bar nuns dressed in the garb of their orders from teaching in public schools been received in Roman Catholic circles? In various ways. *America*, the Jesuit weekly, demands that the constitutionality of the law be tested. If the courts sustain it, then it is proposed that a similar resort to the initiative be made to bar Protestant ministers from teaching posts. On the other hand, Bishop Ryan and Auxiliary Bishop Dworshak, who head the church in North Dakota, apparently accept the law as the expressed will of the people but propose to meet it by the simple expedient of divesting the nuns of their religious garb. In a joint statement the Catholic bishops say that an educational emergency, caused by shortage of teachers, forced the employment of nuns in the public schools, and add: "In view of this emergency, the sisters will arrange to use in school a respectable secular dress, which in no way indicates that the teacher is a member of or adherent of any religious order or denomination." This will satisfy the requirements of the new law, and if the nuns who follow this direction are educationally qualified, have been chosen by school boards on the normal basis of merit, make individual contracts with the school boards and are paid individually, pay income tax like other teachers, and refrain from sectarian teaching, there will be no important objections from North Dakota or anywhere else. The same tests, it might be remarked in passing, should be met by Protestant ministers teaching in the Dakota public schools—if there are any.

Church Membership Statistics Gain

AGAIN the *Christian Herald* has published its annual compilation of figures to prove that the churches are growing and how much. Viewed simply as numerical statistics, the report looks pretty good. Church membership, reckoned in relation to population, is now at an all time high of 53 per cent. When it is remembered that as recently as 1890 only 22 per cent of the people of the United States were church members, the present figure sounds encouraging. Sixty per cent of these American church members are Protestants, 33 per cent are Catholics and 6 per cent are Jewish. The remaining 1 per cent is scattered among almost innumerable groups ranging across the ecclesiastical spectrum from the Orthodox churches to the Spiritualists. The gain made by all groups amounted to 3,713,006, which gives the United States a total church population of 77,386,188. Protestant churches with between 200,000 and 1,000,000 members showed the largest growth—9 per cent. The "king-sized" churches, with more than 1,000,000 members, reported a gain of only .9 per cent. The "small-fry" denominations with less than 50,000 adherents increased only 1.2 per cent. Only those with between 50,000 and 200,000 approached the leaders. They showed 7 per cent more members than in 1946. Catholic gains amounted to a little more than 3.5 per cent, a better showing than that made by combined Protestants, 2.6 per cent. To what advantage of the Kingdom of God have the churches used the strength indicated by these figures? The *Christian Herald* frankly dodges this question by saying that a qualitative judgment of religious strength in this country would be hazardous. Therefore it wisely prefers the "safer ground" of merely reporting quantitative gains. Hazardous or not, a qualitative judgment is precisely what must be made by the Christian churches before they can take any pride in their numerical strength.

Memo to the American Press

THE FIRST ASSEMBLY of the World Council of Churches will open in Amsterdam, Holland, on Friday, August 27. Delegates representing 148 Christian churches from 42 countries will be present. All the leading Christian communions will be represented, except the Roman Catholic Church. That church has announced that it will send an official observer. There will be member churches from every important nation, except Russia. Because this gathering will be to such an extraordinary degree representative of the Protestant, Anglican and Eastern Orthodox churches, it is being characterized as the most important Christian gathering in centuries. Undoubtedly you plan to report this Amsterdam Assembly as its importance deserves.

There is some danger, however, lest your reporting of the Amsterdam Assembly of the World Council of Churches be confused by another church gathering at the same place and almost the same time. A splinter organization of American super-fundamentalists, known as the American Council of Christian Churches, announces that it has sent out 1,000 invitations to a meeting of an "International Council of Churches" to open in Amsterdam on August 12. This will meet in the English Reformed Church and the Lauriergracht Kerk of the Christian Reformed Churches. It will continue in session until August 19

–only eight days before the Assembly of the World Council is to open.

Clearly, there are many opportunities here for a mixup. Both meetings are to be in Amsterdam. Both are in August. The names are so nearly similar—the World Council of Churches and an "International Council of Churches"—that an uninstructed or hasty correspondent might easily confuse the one with the other. As a matter of fact, we believe that the meeting of this "International Council of Churches" has been deliberately planned as to time, place and name in the hope of producing confusion. The promoters of this meeting, we believe, expect that by meeting first they will accomplish two things: (1) by taking advantage of the world's interest in what is to happen of a church nature in Amsterdam, they will give to the world an exaggerated idea of the importance of their organization; and (2) by meeting first, they will perhaps fill the press with enough news of a "church world conference" so that when the Assembly of the World Council meets later the newspapers will cut their coverage on the plea that they have already printed enough on that subject.

We would not be so much afraid lest the daily press fall into a trap on this Amsterdam matter had there not been so many instances in which it has swallowed the claims of the American organization which is promoting this "International Council of Churches" venture. Only three months ago, for example, the Associated Press sent out a story from Atlanta in which it said that this American Council of Christian Churches "represents a group that split from the Federal Council of Churches several years ago." It represents no such thing, for not a single one of the fundamentalist denominations in the American Council was ever in the Federal Council. Unless the press is careful, it will be victimized into contributing to the same sort of confusion and misinformation at Amsterdam.

To guard against being again misled, the press should see to it that the correspondents who cover the Amsterdam meetings know clearly and in advance what the American Council of Christian Churches is. What is it? It is the most extreme and sectarian of American fundamentalist bodies. Several of its constituent members are very small "splinter" bodies, formed by secession from the great denominations. The Bible Presbyterian Church, to take one example, is made up of a handful that separated from the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. under the leadership of the Rev. Carl McIntire after he had been deposed from the Presbyterian ministry for his attacks on Princeton Theological Seminary and the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. The Southern Methodist Church is the tiny group in the south which refused to enter the union of the three principal Methodist bodies. The General Association of Regular Baptist Churches is made up of the comparatively small number of churches which refuse to cooperate with the Northern Baptist Convention.

A scrutiny of the fifteen bodies which the American Council lists as member denominations does not reveal a single one recognized as in the main historical stream of American Protestantism. Several of them are obviously only local or regional associations, such as the "Three River Christian Conference," the "Ohio Independent Baptists," and the "Iowa Eldership of the Churches of God." Most of the denominations in the list are not even mentioned in the Federal Census of Religious Bodies, issued by the U.S. bureau of the census, although that reports the existence and size of more than 250 recognized American churches.

How large is the American Council? The A.P. dispatch already mentioned says that "the council claims 2,000,000 members." That's the sort of play-it-safe statement to be expected from the A.P., committing that news distributing agency to nothing. But it is misleading nonsense. A more recent dispatch distributed by Religious News Service, reporting on the plans for the rump Amsterdam conference, says that the American Council "claims a total constituency of more than 1,000,000 members." That, too, is an example of recognizable journalistic caution, and only about half as nonsensical as the claim reported by the A.P. We don't know what the figures would show if a dependable count were made, but the National Association of Evangelicals, a rival body of more temperate fundamentalists, after a detailed study last year, concluded that "the *known* membership" of the American Council "adds up to 89,479" and that "the *entire* membership is probably under 115,000—certainly under 120,000."

As for the spirit of this little group that makes the big claims, that is sufficiently reflected in its paper, the *Christian Beacon*. Here, for example, is a typical *Beacon* utterance on September 4, 1947: "The Federal Council is the product of the denominations which make it. The Northern Baptist Convention is bad; the Northern Presbyterian Church is bad; the Methodist Church is bad. There is apostasy here. Why be in it?" Now, at a time when the World Council of Churches is taking the first great step toward bringing the Christians of all the world together in understanding and cooperative effort, the American Council wants to project this spirit of sour sectarianism onto the world stage. That's the real purpose of the Amsterdam meeting it has called for August 12.

Well, gentlemen of the world's press, there are the facts. Now that they have been placed before you, if you disregard them, if you fall into the trap which has been baited for you at Amsterdam, thoughtful members of the Christian churches everywhere will not accept a later plea of ignorance.

Confidence

WHO struggles up the tortuous peaks
Roams the hills with easy stride.
Who storms across the widest seas
Embarks upon a pond with casual mien.
Who beholds the majesty of God
Is fearless in the presence of mortality.

FRANKLIN D. ELMER, JR.

Barth vs. Brunner on Communism

By a Staff Member

KARL BARTH recently visited Hungary to deliver a series of lectures at the invitation of the Hungarian Reformed Church. After his return to his post as professor of theology at the University of Basle in Switzerland he wrote of his impressions concerning the church situation in the nation he had just visited. The article was published in the *Kirchenblatt fur die Reformierte Schweiz*, and has been widely commented on abroad. Later he also wrote a sort of pastoral letter to the Hungarians which has not yet been translated for wider circulation. In magazine article and letter, he advised the Hungarian Protestants against open opposition to or criticism of the Communist-dominated regime in their country, and favored what would be, in effect, a policy of at least passive cooperation.

This has brought Barth's old opponent, Emil Brunner of Zurich, storming into the lists. "*Wie soll man das verstehen?*" (How is this to be understood?) he cried in the title of an open letter published in the same Swiss paper on June 10. By the courtesy of Dr. E. G. Homrighausen, of Princeton Theological Seminary, who is now at World Council headquarters in Geneva, The Christian Century has been provided with translations of Brunner's attack and Barth's reply. The latter appeared in the *Kirchenblatt* on June 24. Taken together, the two documents show that a rift over the exigent issue of church policy toward Communist totalitarianism divides the two famous Continental theologians, and that this division goes so deep and is held with so much personal feeling on both sides that it may have far-reaching effects on the whole ecumenical movement in the European churches.

Opposition to Hitler Recalled

Brunner begins his attack on Barth's advice to the Hungarian Protestants (which he believes to apply equally to the future policies of Czech Protestants) by contrasting the firmness and outspokenness with which Barth fought Hitler's totalitarianism, while calling on the whole church to join in that fight, with his reluctance to take a stand against the Communist theories of government. Since Brunner insists that totalitarianism is the same, whether nazi or Communist, Barth's present position is unintelligible to him. Must not the church of necessity, with unambiguity and passion, say No to Communist totalitarianism, just as it said No to Hitler?

Brunner then proceeds to elaborate his basic question under ten heads. He charges that Barth, even when fighting nazism, never attacked totalitarianism. Why? Is not totalitarianism unrighteous and inhuman "in principle"? If communism is thought of as simply an expression of the desire for social justice, there is no quarrel; it is agreed that there are Christian possibilities in such communism. But *existing* Communism leads logically to totalitarianism. The question for the Christian church, therefore, is not whether it will take a negative stand against ideal communism, but whether it will say No to a total state, which is the only kind consistent with existing Communism.

Socialism Not the Issue

Nor, says Brunner, is the question for the church one of social justice. Certainly there is great injustice under the capitalistic order. Brunner favors certain state controls and even state ownership. There is a strong movement toward the correction of these capitalistic abuses. But the issue is not between capitalism and radical socialism.

At this point Brunner makes an *ad hominem* argument to Barth's own socialism. Socialism, he reminds Barth, is not authoritarian, which is one of the reasons why Communism seeks to destroy it. "Shall we allow socialism to be assassinated by our refusal to say anything as Christians against its murderers?" Must not Christians rather join with Socialists in this battle? To remain silent is to deny a fundamental Christian principle—something Christians must never do. For the totalitarian state does not recognize the natural rights of human personality. It is also atheistic by its very nature. So the question persists: Can the church rightly do anything other than oppose an absolute and passionate No to this total state?

Necessity a Doubtful Argument

Brunner notes that Hromadka of Prague, formerly of Princeton, takes practically the same position as Barth, in that he interprets the present situation as a historical necessity. (In this connection see The Christian Century for May 12, page 446.) Old liberal forces in Czechoslovakia, Hromadka believes, have spent themselves and are powerless to form the new order. Brunner acknowledges that there may be times when the Christian is faced with conditions over which he has no control; but to sanction these with a theology of necessity is dangerous. What, he asks Barth, will he and his friends say when one day this totalitarian state collapses and is judged as Hitler's totalitarianism is now being judged at Nuremberg?

As for the argument that by opposing these Communist governments Protestants will be aligning themselves with the Roman Catholic Church, Brunner asks whether, just because the Roman Church takes an anti-Communist stand, Protestants must stand aside. Did not Protestants and Catholics stand side-by-side against Hitler? A doctrine is not false because the Roman Catholic Church espouses it. Brunner's open letter closes with the remark that he and others cannot understand how Barth, who was so vehement against those who even *seemed* to be collaborators

with Hitler, should now take his present position and chide as "nervous" those who have misgivings about this devilish totalitarian system of unrighteousness and inhumanity.

Barth's Reply

Barth's reply is characteristic. He does not take up Brunner's ten points one by one. Instead, he says, "I shall go immediately to the essential apect of the matter." But he takes time at the start to rebuke Brunner for having been overcautious in his attitude toward Hitler in 1933 and 1934 when he (Barth) was making his head-on onslaught against nazism. Then it was Brunner who wanted to go slow! Then he leaps into an attack on Brunner's use of the term "Christian principles" as a guide for Christians in Hungary. Christians, he declares, do not act by eternal and guiding principles, but according to the authority of the Word of God in concrete situations. What obtained in 1933 simply does not obtain now. The situation is different. Therefore, the Word of God which must be spoken today must be formulated afresh.

The position of the church in political matters, says Barth, is determined at the point where the church faces the necessity of speaking responsibly out of the Word of God. The church has nothing, as church, to do with isms and systems, but only with the Word of God in historical situations. It does not speak according to "principles." The church makes her judgment according to the situation. One day she may speak and another day she may be silent. She declines to systematize her actions. She insists upon keeping her freedom to speak when the time comes to speak.

Attack on Nazism Justified

The church confronted such a concrete situation in 1933. It was time to speak then. Why? Because Hitler's regime represented a temptation to the church. Many an American, Britisher and Frenchman admired Hitler. Even Churchill had something good to say for him! The nations allowed themselves to be seduced by nazism, which claimed to be Christian. It was not a question of totalitarianism, nor of nihilism, nor of anti-Semitism. Hitlerism had a charm about it which overwhelmed men's souls and made them believe its lies. It was a matter of life and death for the church, since nazism was a "masked godlessness." This, says Barth, is why he would not compromise at that time, nor pardon any who had collaborated.

But, asks Barth, are we faced by the same situation today? Can we apply what we said then against nazism to Communism now? He has seen western Germany and the non-Russian sectors of Berlin. He knows the fear, the hate, the repugnance which is felt toward this "eastern monster." But among those who have this feeling, there is not one who regards Communism as a temptation which constitutes a danger! None will go along with Communism, except a few Communists. Is this not also true of those who live in America, England and France? "Whoever wants a political negation from me against this system and method can have it immediately." But it is rather cheap to give, and cheap to have! Barth will not admit that it is a Christian, or a church, responsibility to say about Communism what every citizen can read in his newspaper and what Mr. Truman and the pope are saying so well.

Has the "East," or whatever one may call it, such a power over us that we must counteract it with an ultimate word? No, says Barth, for when the church confesses its faith, it does so by going against the tide with fear and trembling. Surely the church has no cause to go against the tide today by giving its witness against Communism, because Communism does not merit this, whether on account of its Marxist, its imperialistic or its Asiatic elements.

Against or With the Tide?

But must the church go *with* the tide? Must it go with America and the papacy? Must it do so simply because a university professor has had it written in his notes since 1934—and perhaps rightly—that totalitarianism is a destructive thing? Where is the spiritual danger, or the need, which requires that the church should give a witness to this truth? What is the occasion? Whom would the church instruct, set right, comfort or call to repentance and new life thereby? Certainly not the nations of the "Christian" West! Certainly not the Americans! Are they not secure enough against Russia without our Christian assistance? Certainly not the poor Russians and the poor Communists!

Therefore, says Barth, the church faces a situation entirely different from that of 1933-45, and we Christians should stay out of this present conflict and not prematurely shoot off our ammunition. We should wait patiently and see if and in what way the situation may become ripe for some expression. If a concrete situation should arise as it did in 1933-45—and we cannot tell from what direction that may come to pass—then we shall have to see how to deal with the situation that may have developed. But in any case, says Barth, it will not be according to any of the timeless "principles" to which Brunner wishes to win me. It will begin, rather, with the first sentence of the Barmen Declaration, which was distasteful to Brunner at the time it was adopted.

Barth's reply concludes with some observations on the difference between the situation in which Hungarian Protestants find themselves today and the position of the churches in the German church struggle. He adds that for the Hungarians, and not merely for the Hungarians, everything depends not upon the church's adhering to "principles," but upon the church's attachment to its Lord. He bids the church to seek and find its own way and to learn to find the time to speak and to be quiet, so that it may not, through any law which is not the gospel, allow itself to be led into error.

Thus has the issue been joined between Switzerland's two great theologians over a question to which no church in Europe today can profess indifference. Will the debate break out next in Amsterdam?

Are Our Hands Really Dirty?

By Gerald E. Knoff

THE LEADING EDITORIAL in the June 16 issue of The Christian Century, "Protestants: Come Clean!" chides religious education leaders for supporting the principle of released time religious education. This "bad advice" they are giving, says the editorial, indicates a slovenly reading of the Supreme Court's decision in the McCollum case, an exaggerated conception of the value of released time religious education, and a naive attitude toward the political ambitions of the Roman Catholic Church. The Century declares released time religious education now unconstitutional. It calls weekday religious education "trivial," a "token form," a "bagatelle," a "toy" to which Protestant churches and church councils are childishly clinging, dirtying hands that should be clean.

These are serious indictments, and merit the thoughtful consideration of conscientious and responsible leaders in Christian education. But perhaps there is something to be said on the other side.

I

The Century states that "certain leaders in religious education" are telling churches that the McCollum decision applies only to the use of school buildings. Who are these "certain leaders"? If the staff and officers of the International Council of Religious Education are meant, the statement is hardly true to fact. Only three days after the decision, the International Council urged that it "should and must be respected by conformity to both the spirit and the letter of its interpretation of the law." The council went on to point out that this decision will mean the discontinuance not only of the use of public school buildings but also of other practices which have been followed by some weekday systems "contrary to the advice of the International Council, including (a) registration of weekday classes in public school buildings, (b) supervision of classes by public school authorities, and (c) entering of grades for religious classes on public school report cards."

This release was sent out to thousands of persons connected with weekday systems. The next day a more detailed statement was issued by Dr. Erwin L. Shaver of the International Council staff. "One clearly stated principle" was set forth, and underlined: "*The public school system must not be 'used' by the churches to help them teach sectarian religion.*" In addition to the use of public school buildings, the document pointed out, four other practices are now considered violations: (1) control, supervision or disciplining by public school authorities; (2) registration for religious classes carried on in the schools; (3) promotion and publicizing of the program by public school leaders in their official capacity; and (4) reporting of religious education grades on public school report cards.

Weekday workers were counselled to refrain from these and similar practices and to set themselves to the task of completely separating the weekday movement from such practices. The substance of these statements has been reiterated in other words and by other groups. Three additional statements have come from council bodies, and others are being prepared. An article in the June issue of the *International Journal of Religious Education* takes the same stand.

This advice has not been given reluctantly or of necessity. For years it has been the consistent policy of the International Council, made known by hundreds of thousands of letters, pamphlets and other documents, that weekday religious classes should not be housed in public school buildings and should stand on their own administrative feet. Perhaps other Protestant boards or agencies are giving contrary advice. But I know of none and doubt that there are many.

II

What did the Supreme Court mean? The real difference between the Century and the rest of us lies in the interpretation of what the court has said about the validity of released time religious education *per se*. In some quarters it is held that all released time religious education is unconstitutional. The Christian Century quotes a release by the research division of the National Education Association in which four types of weekday religious education are classified. Type 1 (use of school buildings) and type 2 (off school premises but with cooperation of school machinery and administration) are now unconstitutional, the N.E.A. believes. The Century agrees. So does the International Council. When we come, however, to type 3 (off school premises and with no more cooperation from school authorities than the release of time) we find three shades of opinion. The Century is sure this plan is unconstitutional. The research division of the N.E.A. says it seems to be so. Most religious education leaders feel that its constitutionality remains to be decided.

At this point it is interesting to note that the quotation in the Century editorial does not exactly coincide with the original N.E.A. listing. The N.E.A. article gave a fourth classification: "Voluntary attendance programs of religious instruction organized in some communities where the school board has authority under state law to dismiss schools early. Such 'dismissed time' plans, usually one day per week, probably fall in the 'unexceptionable' types directly sanctioned by the separate opinion of four of the justices and, therefore, may be constitutional." The

International Council believes that they are constitutional. The Christian Century seemed by its omission to ignore this type of program, though in a later editorial it gave approval to the New York state plan now being tested in the courts.

The N.E.A.'s fifth category is the one numbered "4" by The Christian Century (classes outside school hours but in school buildings with authorities doing no more than to permit use of the buildings). The N.E.A. says this scheme *may* be unconstitutional. The Christian Century says flatly that it *is*. The International Council is awaiting further legal clarification.

Apropos of the difference of opinion concerning type 3, we find the Century publishing on May 5 a strong editorial, "Salvaging Released Time," which declared regular weekday religious instruction by the churches a necessity and urged the churches to secure an entire midweek afternoon for a genuine school of religious education. It is difficult to understand how the release of an hour or two during the week could be clearly illegal and unconstitutional while the release of a whole afternoon in midweek would be permissible. Or does the editorial of June 16 declare the proposal of May 5 illegal and unconstitutional?

III

Is it true that all forms of released time weekday religious education are unconstitutional? We have been counselled to read the court's decision with care. Let us do it. Justice Frankfurter delivered a supplementary opinion in which Justices Jackson, Rutledge and Burton joined. He wrote:

> Of course, "released time" as a generalized conception, undefined by differentiating particularities, is not an issue for constitutional adjudication. Local programs differ from each other in many and crucial respects. . . . Insofar as these are manifestations merely of the free exercise of religion, they are quite outside the scope of judicial concern, except insofar as the court may be called upon to protect the right of religious freedom. It is only when a challenge is made to the share that public schools have in the execution of a particular "released time" program that close judicial scrutiny is demanded of the exact relation between the religious instruction and the public educational system in the specific situation before the court.

After discussing the Champaign situation these justices again summarize their position:

> Different forms which "released time" has taken during more than thirty years of growth include programs which, like that before us, could not withstand the test of the Constitution; others may be found unexceptionable. We do not now attempt to weigh in the constitutional scale every separate detail or various combination of factors which may establish a valid "released time" program.

What would happen if a case should go to the Supreme Court in which the simple principle of released time weekday religious education were involved? Some are sure weekday work would be thrown out. Four justices of the Supreme Court plus, presumably, the dissenting justice, Mr. Reed, appear to disagree with that view. This would seem to indicate that the majority of the court might approve the simple principle of released time. As a matter of fact we may soon find out, for such a case is clearly headed for the Supreme Court via the courts of New York state and by courtesy of Joseph Lewis, president of the Freethinkers Society. But what to do meanwhile?

IV

Well, meanwhile, why not quit? The Christian Century insists that even if released time weekday religious education were legal it is practically worthless, and counsels us to fold up the whole enterprise. This argument seems to hinge upon the criticism that weekday instruction is not the complete answer to Protestantism's education problems. Of course it isn't. Neither is the Sunday school a complete answer; nor is the youth fellowship, nor the Christian home. Neither is public worship and preaching. Neither is religious journalism. But they all help.

The religious education leaders I know regard weekday work as one helpful program, among others, which should be promoted, improved, and supplemented by all the other teaching activities of the churches, present and yet to come. It would seem to many of us poor strategy to scuttle a program which has found wide acceptance in about 2,000 American communities, has brought religious teaching to millions of children and young people at least 35 per cent of whom were unreached by any other form of religious education, has improved the standards of other teaching programs of the church, and has helped American communities, churches and parents to become conscious of the need of our boys and girls for a religious interpretation of life intimately related to their weekday school experiences. We honestly believe it wise to conserve the best values of weekday religious education until some better plan is devised.

We are thankful, of course, for the present creative thinking, including the contributions of The Christian Century, about the problems of religion and public education. We believe that much good will come from this interest and concern. But so far no practical program has been put forward and worked out in detail. We have theorizing and paper plans, but not much more. Does anyone suppose that if the 2,000 communities that are now providing some form of weekday religious education were to fold up their systems overnight, when school opens next September some new and better plan would be found in operation? We have our doubts. It looks as if we'll have to "cling childishly to the released time toy" until a better tool for the religious education of our children is perfected.

V

But once more we are urged to abandon weekday religious education, this time because the Roman Catholics want it and because it is in line with their political strategy. What shall we say of this appeal?

I know a good many church council secretaries and not a few weekday supervision teachers. Most of

them deplore as much as other Protestants the thirst of many Roman Catholic leaders for political power and their unwillingness to accept the American principle of religious liberty. I know of no significant Protestant sympathy for the maneuverings in the North College Hill community of Cincinnati, nor have I heard good words spoken in our circles for the situation more recently brought to light in New Mexico.

But many weekday leaders simply do not believe that the motives of Roman Catholic supporters of weekday religious education are completely black. Could it not be that there are Catholic priests, nuns and lay persons who are genuinely concerned for the Christian education of Catholic children? Can we not cooperate with them in common enterprises—weekday religious education among them—meanwhile maintaining sturdily our own Protestant principles, without being accused of "pulling Catholic chestnuts out of the fire?" After all, we Protestants and Catholics are going to have to live together in America for a long, long time to come. Our common enemies are paganism and secularism. It does not seem that we Protestants are limited to the extremes of either becoming the amiable dupes of an astute hierarchy, or, on the other hand, of discerning something sinister in everything Rome does.

VI

But there are deeper issues involved in the McCollum decision and its currently popular interpretations than the specific matter of weekday religious education. Let us look at them briefly.

We are concerned lest the strong secularist temper of our day become the unofficial or indeed the official religion of the nation. This apprehension may be airily waved aside as being irrevelant or of no importance. But, again, let us carefully read the court's decision. In the four separate opinions the words "church" and "religion" are used almost interchangeably. Much has been made of the "commingling of church and state." But observe that frequently the term is not "church" but "religion": ". . . both religion and government can best work to achieve their lofty aims if each is left free from the other within its respective sphere" (Justice Black). Our government has maintained a "zealous watchfulness against fusion of secular and religious activities" (Justice Frankfurter). The public schools are to be sharply confined to "secular education."

Granted we do not want a church-controlled state. Nor do we want a state-controlled church. But do we want a state whose realm is completely separated from religion? Do we subscribe to the principle that government is to be left free of religion to operate without restraint and challenge in its own sphere? Is this our American Protestant tradition?

To express his reservations at this point Justice Jackson filed his supplementary decision. He declared himself frightened at the sweep of the majority opinion. He agreed that the Champaign plan should be terminated. But he declared his concern that the religious implications of the arts, sciences and humanities could be forbidden by a consistent and rigid interpretation of the majority opinion. Much of Justice Reed's dissent betrays the same dismay at these secularist implications:

> The prohibition of enactments respecting the establishment of religion do not bar every friendly gesture between church and state. It is not an absolute prohibition against every conceivable situation where the two may work together any more than the provisions of the First Amendment—free speech, free press—are absolutes.

Others have expressed this same concern. On June 17 a number of Protestant clergymen and laymen issued a statement deploring popular interpretations of the decision and warning that "whatever its intention may be, this hardening of the idea of 'separation' by the court will greatly accelerate the trend toward the secularization of our culture." This statement deserves to be read in its entirety, even though some summarily dismiss it as taking the Roman Catholic line. The distinguished signers of the document are hardly fellow travellers of the Vatican.

The *Journal* of the American Bar Association for June entitles its leading editorial, "No Law But Our Own Prepossessions?"—words taken from Justice Jackson's opinion. Perhaps the editor of the *Journal* is also following the Catholic line! At least he is enough concerned to devote four pages to pointing out the disturbing implications of the Supreme Court decision.

VII

There is space only to mention a second concern: the tendency to interpret this decision as meaning that the state alone has educational authority over our children. Some public school administrators seem to make this assumption at times, whereas the truth is that parents have the ultimate authority over their children's education, an authority which is only delegated to the school.

Suppose I wish my boy to have religious instruction in a Presbyterian church near the Laurel Street grammar school from two to three on Tuesday afternoons. Suppose a majority of my neighbors want the same provision for their children. Suppose the churches and the parents make the complete arrangements, with no utilization of public school machinery. Suppose the school officials find such arrangements possible in view of the wishes of the parents. What authority now exists for the state to deny us that fundmental right?

The events of the past few months have convinced executives of denominational religious education boards and church councils that judgments about the legality or illegality of the principle of released time weekday religious education should be held in abeyance until the Supreme Court has spoken officially on this issue. Meanwhile they are not yet ready to "wash their hands clean of the whole released time venture." They are not convinced that their hands are dirty. And they don't like the soap of precipitate retreat.

AUGUST SURVEY OF BOOKS

'Religion and Life' in the Ancient Near East

KINGSHIP AND THE GODS. *By Henri Frankfort. University of Chicago Press, $5.00.*

ANCIENT EGYPTIAN RELIGION. *By Henri Frankfort. Columbia University Press, $3.00.*

ON THE FOUNDATION of his own extensive research in the archeology of the Near East and a wide acquaintance with the ancient texts and the modern literature of that subject, Dr. Frankfort (now with the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago) has written: (1) a massive specialized treatise on one aspect of the political and religious ideas of the Mesopotamian and Egyptian peoples; and (2) a briefer volume which is more limited in its scope, since it deals with religion alone, insofar as this can be viewed in detachment from the poltical and social order, and with the religion of Egypt only, but also more general since it discusses the entire body of Egyptian religion and not only the particular point of kinship between gods and kings.

Both books, however, amply demonstrate the impossibility of drawing a clear line between the religious and secular aspects of the ancient cultures. For the reader whose primary interest is not antiquarian, this is perhaps the point that will furnish the most food for thought. "Separation of church and state" didn't mean a thing to the Babylonians and Egyptians. For good or ill, they recognized that "religion and life" were inextricably interwoven. If we, in our time, regard it as a valuable discovery that "religion has to do with the whole of life" (as of course it ought to have), we can learn from contemplation of the ancients that this does not in itself necessarily guarantee either a good life or a good religion. But reflection upon this pregnant theme must not divert us from attention to these two scholarly books which may, by implication, carry this *haec fabula docet*, but which were certainly not written to be moralized on.

Certain notions about "the divinity that doth hedge a king" came down into fairly modern times, but nothing in the Western world ever approached the identification of royalty with divinity that is found in the Egyptian and Mesopotamian cultures. The complete avoidance of this concept by the neighboring Hebrews, even with their theocratic society, is another reason for recognizing something unique in their development. On the basis of Dr. Frankfort's representations, one can readily agree that the early Mesopotamian regime, autocratic as it was, paradoxically but perfectly exhibited "government by consent of the governed." To identify the tyrannical ruler with a god is one of the surest ways to make the populace submit to his tyranny and like it. Religion can be a very dangerous thing to human liberty, when man usurps the authority of God. One can see, also, why the peoples of Egypt and Assyria took their wars so seriously, since these involved the fortunes and endangered the lives of their god-kings; and how it must have seemed to them that the bottom was dropping out of the universe when foreign powers with alien gods conquered their countries.

As to the smaller of these two works, *Ancient Egyptian Religion*, I am reliably informed by a highly respected Egyptologist that there is no better book on this subject. The author has the obvious advantage of a comprehensive acquaintance with many ancient religions; but my consulting expert hints that he may labor under the correlative disadvantage of being tempted to read into the religion of the Egyptians some ideas that they never had, in order to make it fit into the larger framework. I cannot personally confirm or confute this caveat. It would appear that the author's method and his general view might reduce that temptation to manageable proportions, since he finds the Egyptian religion itself full of paradoxes which defy any rational reduction to consistency. However, he does maintain that the religion of ancient Egypt, like its language and its political system, had a basic unity. Dr. Frankfort frequently takes issue with Professor Breasted, whom he accuses of having an "evolutionary bias." His own view is that the Egyptians had a static religion which paralleled and expressed their belief in a static world.

W. E. GARRISON.

Shelley as Philosopher

SHELLEY'S MAJOR POETRY: THE FABRIC OF A VISION. *By Carlos Baker. Princeton University Press, $5.00.*

SAYS the author of his book: "Outward biographical circumstances have a place in it only as they help to explain what Shelley was trying to accomplish, and how he came by his philosophic convictions. . . . No one for a long time has made an attempt to live the inner life of these poems from one end to the other and to set down the record of his experience. That is what is attempted in this book."

The study of Shelley has of late years assumed a direction quite opposite to that of earlier critics, who valued him almost wholly as a lyric poet. His interpreters now take him, with varying degrees of seriousness, as a philosophic poet, and their findings vary in depth and revelation with what it is within themselves to find. This is all to the good. There can scarcely be too many informed readings of what is one of the most considerable bodies of philosophic poetry produced in English by any single poet. Also the innumerable sources of Shelley's ideas and inspirations are noted and documented with varying degrees of emphasis.

Professor Baker's reading will prove enlightening to many readers who have never given Shelley's philosophy serious thought. Whether he has probed very deeply into Shelley's intellectual processes, or has indeed turned up much that is new, will be a matter of opinion. His critical language differs somewhat from that of his predecessors. He speaks much of the search of the psyche for the epipsyche, which is no more than to say, in Platonic language, the search of the soul for its affinity; or, again, to say it is the soul's endeavor to reconcile sacred and profane love; or, again, that it signalizes the soul's ascension through the planes of being to its union with the One as personified in myth by Minerva, goddess of intellectual beauty. In his analysis Professor Baker considerably ignores previous explorers into this silent sea, or brushes them aside as contributing little to his purpose.

A deeper comprehension of Shelley's indebtedness to Platonism (including Neo-Platonism) and a greater awareness of the subtlety of Shelley's thought and the complexity of the various strands composing it would enhance the value of Professor Baker's interpretation. He does not, seemingly, fully grasp the significance of the "Hymn to Intellectual Beauty" as the record of an actual mystical experience akin to such experiences as are recorded in the lives of certain saints and philosophers. One needs to be sympathetic with mystical experience to understand many

things in Shelley, such as his pursuit of ideal love and beauty. The danger inherent in that pursuit, which he himself clearly perceived, is recorded in "Alastor" and "Epipsychidion." The problem is to reconcile idealism with obligations to one's fellows on an earthly plane of being. Shelley endeavored with some success to effect this reconciliation.

CARL GRABO.

French Republic-New Model

THE RESHAPING OF FRENCH DEMOCRACY. *By Gordon Wright. Reynal & Hitchcock, $3.50.*

THIS VOLUME unfolds very informatively the making of the new constitution of the fourth French republic. In addition to exploring published sources, the author, who is now professor of history at the University of Oregon, uses oral and privately circulated sources of information that he tapped during his term 1944-46 as third secretary of the U.S. embassy at Paris. His style is terse, factual and not lacking in wit.

Two decisions during the war were most crucial for the shaping of the Fourth Republic. In 1942 the underground National Resistance Council and General de Gaulle, leader of the Free French movement in exile, agreed not to revive the corpse of the Third Republic: ". . . once the enemy has been driven off our soil, all our men and women will elect the National Assembly which will have full power to decide the country's destinies." The Free French Algiers assembly in 1944 authorized De Gaulle to be provisional president from liberation until a constitution was drawn up.

During his fourteen months as provisional president, 1944-45, De Gaulle was careful not to impose his views or prevent the restoration of democracy. His was an authoritarian regime, but he used his powers very cautiously, punishing Vichyites and nationalizing a few monopolies.

The election of the first constituent assembly in October 1945 was a victory for the left; the three left parties, the Mouvement Republicain Populaire, the Socialists and the Communists, polled 72 per cent of the popular vote. Moreover, these parties had become national and disciplined; the parties of the center and right remained segmented collections of individuals.

The first constituent assembly convened November 6, 1945, and adjourned April 26, 1946. It possessed sovereign powers to legislate and change the executive as well as to draft a constitution. De Gaulle was continued as chief executive until, in January 1946, he stepped down, partly because the Socialists had begun to work closely with the Communists in constitution-making, partly to recoup waning popularity by retiring temporarily. In the referendum of May 5, 1946, the assembly's proposed constitution was rejected, 10,583,724 to 9,453,675. A repeat performance of constitution-making was necessary. A more lasting fruit of its six months' labors was legislation for state ownership and operation of the "Bank of France and the four largest deposit banks, the insurance business, and the gas, electricity and coal industries." It strengthened the social security laws, improved the status of tenant farmers, and gave full citizenship to natives in French colonies.

The referendum of May 5, in which the voters indicated their belief that the proposed all-powerful unicameral legislature would somehow aid the Communists to reach power, was followed by a new electoral campaign for a second constituent assembly. In its election on June 2, 1946, the M. R. P. (the Christian socialists) received 28 per cent of the popular vote. This was the party that had led the opposition to ratification of the first constitutional draft and was felt to be the party of De Gaulle, although De Gaulle held himself aloof from party connections.

The second constituent assembly convened on June 11, 1946, in a mood of tension and little optimism. It restricted itself for the most part to constitution-making. The M. R. P.-Socialist combination drew up a draft constitution resembling the government of the Third Republic, but with the following differences: the upper house (Council of the Republic) was shorn of its power to overthrow cabinets; the premier would have to be approved by the National Assembly (no longer called Chamber of Deputies) before he could form a cabinet; the premier no longer could ask for decree powers in emergencies; various measures for guaranteeing greater cabinet stability; an economic council chosen by occupational groups to give opinions on proposed laws of an economic and social nature. Most novel was a reorganization of the French empire in a federal representative system called French Union.

Just prior to the referendum, October 13, 1946, on this second draft De Gaulle had in effect said, "Vote no." He felt that the executive authority was too weak and that the divisions of France would be intensified by the constitution. After about nine million approved it, De Gaulle could still point to eight million who voted against approval and eight million who abstained. The De Gaullists carried on a revisionist movement, preached national unity and talked of a fifth republic. De Gaulle himself came down from Olympus in March 1947 to head the Rassemblement du Peuple Francais (R. P. F.). At the end of 1947 the Fourth Republic, product of compromise and seeking to reconcile democratic traditions with collectivist economic ideas, was confronted with De Gaullist and Communist programs for more authoritarian government with less balance between the executive and the legislative powers than the Fourth Republic enshrined.

SHERMAN B. BARNES.

Who's Crazy Now?

WAR, POLITICS, AND INSANITY. By *C. S. Bluemel, M.D. World Press, Denver, Colo., $2.00.*

WHAT is the matter with politicians as a group? That is the timely question the author poses in his preface. His interest in this problem was aroused in 1932, when many Republican politicians who had held office for years lost their jobs. "As a practicing psychiatrist," says Dr. Bluemel, "I chanced at that time to see a number of local politicians who suffered from mental breakdowns following their political defeat."

This is indeed an exciting beginning. A psychiatric analysis of Republican politicians would be sensational. Published during an election year, it might swing the election —especially if the psychiatric truth about Democratic politicians could not be rushed into print.

Alas, dear reader, you will have no such treat. Dr. Bluemel explains that these unfortunate Republicans only caused him to ponder the problem. His own case studies remain unpublished. This book lays down some general principles and illustrates them with comments and anecdotes concerning world-famous leaders, many of them long since dead.

On the level of general principle, the author distinguishes two traits that are characteristic of political and military leaders: dominance and the obsessive-compulsive reaction. The dominant person is adjudged a social liability, whereas the obsessive quality may be a social asset.

The illustrations are an interesting collection of biographical materials from the lives of such assorted leaders

as Carry (*sic*) Nation, Josef Stalin, Oliver Cromwell and Paul Ehrlich. Psychiatric diagnosis is attempted on the basis of reports and characterizations by observers who, in most instances, were not trained psychiatrists. The diagnoses must therefore be regarded as somewhat speculative.

After finding George III manic, Napoleon and Mussolini hypomanic, Robespierre manic-depressive, Hitler paranoid and schizoid, Gandhi negativistic (with a schizoid coloring), Stalin mildly paranoid, Goering a constitutional psychopath, and so on, the author briefly appraises democratic forms of government: "The basic principle in democratic government is representation; this is defective because it is based on arithmetic rather than psychology. Democracy, moreover, presumes too largely upon the intelligence of its people" (p. 107).

Dr. Bluemel believes that government should be organized "along scientific lines." Instead of permitting the poorly informed electorate to vote for psychopathic politicians, he proposes a "Selective Government," with voting rights reserved to citizens who have a university education and special training in government and related subjects. These "senior citizens" would choose (by lot) the National Council, a legislative body of one hundred members serving life terms to age 65. The council would elect a cabinet of five who would have executive functions.

The plan of "Selective Government" is stated in five short pages. If elaborated, it might contain some debatable suggestions. In its present abbreviated presentation it sounds as if it might survive conflicts of the intensity sometimes recorded in a county medical society.

Nothing is said in the book of the disappointingly low correlations thus far discovered between intelligence and education on the one hand and sanity on the other hand.

Perhaps these unenthusiastic remarks are just a rationalization of the reviewer's disappointment at not being treated to a diagnosis of an ordinary Republican politician.

WAYNE A. R. LEYS.

The Low Estate of Art

THE DEHUMANIZATION OF ART AND NOTES ON THE NOVEL. *By José Ortega y Gasset. Princeton University Press, $2.00.*

AMERICAN READERS will remember José Ortega y Gasset as the author of a number of distinguished volumes, among them *Concord and Liberty* and *The Revolt of the Masses.* Although first published in 1925, the two essays which Princeton has just made available are comparable in both interest and value with Ortega's later work and hence deserve serious attention.

Modern art, Ortega maintains in the first essay, is not only unpopular but cannot ever become popular because its appreciation demands a degree of aesthetic understanding beyond the average person. The majority of people can understand art only when it is realistic: that is, when it produces feelings which are in no essential respect different from those of ordinary, day-to-day experience. Universal art, such as Tolstoy wrote of in his later years, could thus become meaningful to all mankind only by limiting itself to those experiences which would be significant to the majority. Modern art, consequently, begins from a throughly anti-popular basis, for its essential principle is that to the degree a thing is *realistic* it is not *artistic.*

The objections to modern art do not represent criticism of a new style, Ortega tells us, but of a new conception of the nature of art. Romanticism, for example, was criticized because the intentions of the artists were understood and condemned. Modern art presents an entirely different phenomenon, for here the masses criticize because they cannot understand what the artist is trying to do. Consequently, modern art divides the public into two groups: the élite of aesthetic understanding who approve and the masses who criticize because they cannot comprehend.

Modern art has set its back on realism by refusing to treat its subjects in a realistic manner. Thus all pathos, all intense, subjective feeling, is banned to the modern artist and in its place is an ironic sense of humor which can find pleasure in creating works that possess aesthetic value while wholly divorced from reality. Sensibility in modern art consists of seeing with new eyes, or hearing with new ears, and if by chance sight and hearing are still directed to the world of day-to-day experience, the intention is to take these experiences and construct from them a different world. Thus art has become "dehumanized" and, in a final touch of irony, aware of its fundamentally unimportant role in the modern world.

The "Notes on the Novel" develop a thesis closely related to that of the first essay. The novel, Ortega believes, is becoming exhausted as a literary genre for the simple reason that the number of possible themes for novels is finite and most of them have been used. Thus it is much more difficult to write a great novel today than it was a hundred years ago when the stock of possible subjects had not been depleted. What modern novels are great (Ortega cites Proust as his example) are those in which plot and action have been reduced to the barest unifying structure and the reader is held within a world created by the author in which the thoughts of the characters are more important than what they do.

Ortega is always an interesting philosopher to read, and it would be sheer dogmatism to try offhand to pronounce his conclusions right or wrong. It is easy to see that exceptions can be found to some of his generalizations, but it is equally apparent that his underlying insight is probably very close to the actual state of affairs. Certainly the least one can say for this book is that it opens the way for what should be most fruitful thought.

ROBERT MARSH.

Facets of America

WELLSPRINGS OF THE AMERICAN SPIRIT. *Edited by F. Ernest Johnson. Harper & Brothers, $2.50.*

THIS is one of numerous volumes that have been appearing at frequent intervals during the past several years under the auspices of the Institute for Religious and Social Studies, which was established at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York in 1938. Like the other volumes, this one is made up of a series of addresses, sixteen in all, each prepared by a man considered to have special competence to discuss the topic assigned. Taken as a whole, these addresses hang together much better than most attempts to persuade a coterie of university professors to stay under one roof. In fact there is not a chapter that does not make its special contribution to an understanding of how the American spirit has evolved.

This attempt—to understand the sources of the American spirit—properly begins with a chapter on the Puritan tradition, and no one more competent could have been found to deal with that topic than Herbert W. Schneider. It is no easy thing even to define the term "Puritan," to say nothing of appraising the kind of contribution Puritanism has made, though no one doubts the importance of the contribution. John T. McNeill next deals with the dissenting tradition and clearly and cogently summarizes all the recent studies on this theme. Ralph Gabriel treats the tradition of the Enlighten-

ment, and brings forward Franklin and Jefferson as evidence not only that the Enlightenment found its way across the Atlantic in the 18th century, but that it produced men capable of making contributions of world importance, one in the realm of science, the other in social philosophy.

"The Religion of the Founding Fathers," by Robert C. Hartnett of Fordham University, is a rather unusual contribution for a Roman Catholic, since none of the Founding Fathers was of his faith. He finds that all of them "believed in public worship and the efficacy of intercessory prayer" and "stood their ground without yielding to the spirit of 18th century rationalism or materialism," while "only Jefferson bore the earmarks of deism." Religious liberty is treated from the Protestant point of view by a Lutheran, O. Frederick Nolde, and from the Jewish point of view by Rabbi Louis Finkelstein. Unfortunately, the paper on the Roman Catholic conception of religious liberty was not made available for publication. The spirit of the frontier and of American philosophy, literature, education and art are each treated in a separate chapter.

Odell Shepard's "The Spirit of American Literature," though one of the briefest chapters, is alone worth the price of the book. Can we catch, he asks, all that the word "America" means in the coarse net of language? "To define a thing is to draw a line around it, to stake its boundaries. . . . Strictly speaking we can define only that which is finished. But America is still becoming. . . . The effort to define her is like trying to paint a picture of a wind-blown cloud. In order to suggest her protean nature we must speak in terms of movement, vicissitude and change."

Because we are young, says Professor Shepard, we make "egregious blunders about ourselves and we allow others to make them without refutation." Though we think of ourselves as this-worldly, money-minded, hard-headed and materialistic, he affirms that "we care less for money, for its own sake, than any other people." True Americans, he believes, have always lived on two levels, the practical and the spiritual, and his exposition of Emerson's aphorism, "Hitch your wagon to a star," as a text to bring out this fact is both charming and penetrating.

The final four chapters—"Technology and Freedom" by Lyman Bryson, "Woman's Struggle for Status" by Elinor M. Herrick, "The Struggle for Cultural Unity" by C. H. Tobias, and "Labor's Coming of Age" by Mark Starr—together with the general summary by the editor on the "spiritual role of America," bring the book to a logical and satisfying conclusion. Here is material for anyone who desires to gain an insight into America's soul that would be difficult to duplicate.

WILLIAM W. SWEET.

Books in Brief

MORE THAN WE ARE. *By Margueritte Harmon Bro. Harper, $1.50.* Among books telling why and how to pray, this deserves a place of pre-eminence. Its excellence lies partly in its simplicity and directness, in the fact that its language is completely understandable and colloquial without being odidously intimate or flippant, and in the avoidance of conventionally pietistic phraseology. (There have been books about prayer which, in trying to evade the awesome aspects of divinity, give the impression of cuddling up to God.) Still more does the merit of this unpretentious volume rest upon a realistic understanding of the varieties of human need and a sound psychology concerning the ways in which man may best avail himself of the resources of prayer. There is not much explicit theology in it. It is more concerned with the way to pray than with the ways in which God answers prayer.

HE WILL ABUNDANTLY PARDON: RADIO MESSAGES. *By Walter A. Maier. Concordia Pub. House, $2.75.* Dr. Maier has for several years had the largest regular radio audience in the world. The present volume, the latest of many, contains the addresses delivered during the second half of the thirteenth season of the Lutheran Hour, 1945-46. The number of stations over which these were heard, we are told, reached a peak of 809. The sermons are very emphatic and urgent proclamations of what is sometimes called "the old-time religion." Judging by this program's following, in the fierce competition of the air waves, it may also be called the big-time religion.

THE ENGAGED COUPLE HAS A RIGHT TO KNOW. *By Abner I. Weisman. Renbayle House, 1165 Broadway, New York, $3.00.* This "modern guide to happy marriage" is the work of a physician who, having a specialist's technical knowledge of the physiological and anatomical aspects of his theme, knows that these are not the only things to be considered. A doctor can often give wise advice about other things than medicine, and this one does.

THE AGE OF THE GREAT DEPRESSION, *1929-41. By Dixon Wecter. Macmillan, $5.00.* Although a professor of English (at the University of California, Los Angeles, since 1939), Dr. Wecter's preoccupation with American literature and his present connection as chairman of the research group in Huntington Library have given him ample background for writing this social history of the United States from the stock market collapse until the hour when the Roosevelt economic program was saved by the bell—of war. Its method is enough like that of Mark Sullivan's *Our Times* to recall that famous work, though the point of view is different. Admirably nonpartisan in spirit, it appears to be slanted toward the defense of the New Deal. For one small item, speaking of the possible political use of WPA funds, the author says that "its high command seems to have kept a steady hand on the purse strings and maintained a clean record," though admittedly the underlings "were not always so scrupulous." He sees only "sectarian rivalry" in the protest of thirty Protestant denominations against the appointment of an ambassador to the Vatican. But on the whole, a remarkably fair, copious and colorful pageant of this recent tangled epoch in American life.

MATTHEW ARNOLD, A STUDY IN CONFLICT. *By Edward K. Brown. University of Chicago Press, $3.00.* Keen critical analysis of the mind of a critic. Arnold's "conflict" lay in his "oscillation between the poles of detachment and action"; not that he ever engaged much in action, but conscience and conviction told him he should while his theory of critical disinterestedness told him he shouldn't. Even in his own performance as a poet, Arnold was not consistent with his principles as a critic; for his theory was that the total impact of a poem as a whole was the only thing that counted, while his own poems were generally bad in construction and dull in their total effect, says Mr. Brown, though often redeemed from mediocrity by poignant and memorable passages.

ESSAYS AND SKETCHES. *By John Henry Newman. Edited by Charles Frederick Harrold. Longmans, 3 vols., $3.50 each.* The handsome and well edited new edition of the works of Cardinal Newman, previously mentioned in these pages, now proceeds with three volumes of essays on various subjects —educational, historical, classical, religious and theological. Most of these essays were written before Newman's transit to Rome, but the direction of his movement is already evident, at least in the light of the subsequent event.

NEWS of the CHRISTIAN WORLD

Canterbury Opens Lambeth Sessions

Anglican Conference Holds First Service in Ancient Cathedral—Complete Insurance Scheme Launched

LONDON, July 7.—At the service in Canterbury Cathedral which opened the Lambeth conference, 300 Anglican bishops, dressed in white and scarlet, walked up the nave, each territorial group preceded by a sign indicating the country or continent from which it came. Onlookers were impressed by this demonstration of how a comparatively small church in these islands has developed into worldwide communion. In the procession, the presiding bishops were led by Bishops Lindel Tsen of China and Yashiro of Japan. British and American troops in Japan contributed to the expenses of the Japanese delegates. The group from Africa included the first African to be consecrated bishop on native soil. The opening address by the Archbishop of Canterbury was on unity, a subject which will be at the heart of the Lambeth discussions.

* * *

American Bishops Play Prominent Part

The Lambeth conference will meet in private, but will issue an encyclical letter as it closes Aug. 8. The American delegation of 60 bishops is likely to play an important part in the deliberations. At the inaugural service in St. Paul's Cathedral July 4, Presiding Bishop Henry Knox Sherrill reminded his colleagues that not since the disintegration of the Roman empire has the Christian church faced a world situation like that of today. "We have today greater resources to make possible a universally higher standard of living than ever before, yet we are faced with starvation, misery and bitterness," he said. Bishop Sherrill, who has also taken part in the foreign bishops' visitation of English dioceses, told one audience that "the isolationist element in the U.S. is neither a determined nor a decisive factor."

* * *

Social Insurance Scheme Is Launched

What Prime Minister Attlee describes as the "most comprehensive social insurance scheme in the world" has begun to operate in this country. It marks a major revolution in British life. Everybody, duke as well as dustman, is covered by the plan, which makes provision against ill health, unemployment, retirement and death. One's contribution consists of sticking a stamp on a card and paying a certain sum each week. Social insurance is no new phenomenon here, but what this government has done is to make it completely comprehensive and bring into the fold the middle and professional classes. However, the new scheme cannot be called simply a socialistic experiment; it is rather the completion of a process of community solidarity begun in the past. The twin giants Want and Disease have been given mortal blows, but perhaps not yet the final knockout.

* * *

Marshall Plan Aid Welcome

Both Parliament and people welcome the assistance about to come across the Atlantic, under whatever name—Marshall aid, American aid, E.R.P.—it is known. Every sane man realizes that our straits would have been dire indeed if by midsummer we had not known that the aid was to be forthcoming. The meat ration would have dropped to eight pence worth instead of a shilling; butter would have melted to the vanishing point; petrol and tobacco would have almost disappeared. Only the Communists go on telling us that we are now in the grip of the horrid American dollar, that our independence is gone, our free life almost strangled. Otherwise one hears only widespread thanksgiving at the understanding of the American people, who see that Europe and ourselves can recover only if we get from overseas a powerful economic blood transfusion.

* * *

Bishop Reissues Study On Marriage

Dr. Kirk, the bishop of Oxford, has reissued the study of marriage and divorce which he wrote some years ago for the guidance of churchmen. The bishop is, not unexpectedly, as clearly opposed as ever to the church's blessing a marriage of persons whose previous partners are still living. But he does advocate a "private service" of prayer for those who remarry, rather than a "sham" ceremony in church. This, he holds, would not involve the church as recognizing the marriage, but would give the marrying couple as Christian a beginning for their new partnership as possible.

* * *

And So Forth

Elmer Homrighausen of Princeton Theological Seminary has been visiting this country in connection with the survey of evangelism he is making for the World Council of Churches.

The first prefabricated concrete building to replace a bomb-destroyed Congregational church has been dedicated at Bromley, Kent.

Maurice Charles has been appointed principal of Paton College (Congregational) at Nottingham.

Among Britain's summer guest preachers this year are O. W. S. McCall of Vancouver and Lynn Harold Hough.

CECIL NORTHCOTT.

Protestant Church in Naples Outgrows Its Building

The Waldensian church in Naples, Italy, has had to be enlarged because of the large attendance of non-Protestants at its services.

Await Race Curbs In South Africa

New Government Expected to Put into Effect Strict Segregation Policy Advocated in Campaign

STRAND, C. P., SOUTH AFRICA, July 1.—The nation is awaiting initiation by the new Nationalist party government of its policy of *apartheit* (separation of the races), which was the main plank in its campaign platform. Prime Minister D. F. Malan declared in a radio broadcast that he has received a mandate to go ahead with that policy. The Nationalists' attack on the liberal racial policy of Jan Hofmeyr, deputy prime minister in the previous government, is widely credited with having had much to do with the surprising defeat at the polls of Jan Christian Smuts and his United party. Even within the party a minority is urging that "Hofmeyr must go." Strong support for the former deputy has been forthcoming, however, in the English-language press, which has praised his brilliance and the example he set by his sincere Christian convictions. Meanwhile, the fact that the Nationalist party holds but a slim majority in the House, and is a minority in the Senate, indicates that another election may be necessary before long.

* * *

Inquiry on Natives Produces Liberal Suggestions

The commission appointed by the Smuts government to inquire into the operation of the laws relating to the African natives brought in its report just before the election. Its recommendations were welcomed by the Africans, hailed by liberals among the European section of the population and condemned by the segregationists. Although the new government has not expressed its attitude toward the report, there can be little doubt, in view of the Nationalist party stand on the racial question, that it will be unfavorable. The government has already decided not to proceed with granting to the Indian population representation in the House of Assembly, as was provided for in a bill passed by the Smuts regime. And it has halted the scheme launched by the late government, in the face of strong trade union opposition, to train native artisans.

* * *

Conference Will Consider Penal Reform Report

Indicative of the misery suffered by natives in South Africa is the crowding of our prisons with those found guilty of such trivial offenses as being caught without "passes." The commission on penal reform set up by the outgoing government gave much attention to this practice, as well as to many matters of wider moment, such as the death

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penalty. Its report, issued just before the election, will be considered by the Penal Reform League of South Africa at a national conference this month in Johannesburg. The conference, at which all welfare agencies, the churches and the legal profession will be represented, will consider what action, in view of the report, needs to be taken. It is hoped that the new government will give due attention to the recommendations which come out of the meeting.

* * *

Honor Pioneer Educator

Alexander Kerr, convener of the Christian Council of South Africa's education committee and for 33 years principal of the South African Native College at Fort Hare, was honored at the school's recent graduating ceremonies. Mr. Kerr was a pioneer in educational work for the African people. Upon his appointment to Fort Hare, he was charged with the task of building up a college of university standing which would serve as the pinnacle of African education for many years to come. He has nobly fulfilled that task. Fort Hare is a constituent college of the University of South Africa. As one of the speakers put it: "This college itself stands, and will stand, as a greater memorial to its first principal than any that can be erected later."

* * *

Mass Healing Rites Arouse Debate

The mass "healing" ceremonies being conducted throughout the union by Mrs. Salmon, wife of a Methodist minister in Pretoria, have aroused considerable debate in the correspondence columns of the *South African Weekly*, leading religious publication. Launched by a letter from a Methodist pastor who contended that mass healing services do more harm than good, communications debating the virtues of the practice as against a healing ministry to individuals have come in from people of all denominations. The report of the special commission appointed by the Methodist Church in 1946 to investigate "spiritual healing" is being eagerly awaited. It will probably be presented at the denomination's annual conference in October.

* * *

And So Forth

Carrying out the new prime minister's declared intention of "honoring the churches and recognizing the dependence of the government on Almighty God," the new cabinet, all Afrikaans-speaking, recently attended a special service of intercession in the Dutch Reformed Church of Pretoria.

"The Intelligent Person's Approach to Racial Questions" will be the theme of the week-long winter school to be sponsored by the South African Institute of Race Relations in Johannesburg this month. Coming as it does at a critical time in the union's consideration of the race problem, this effort to promote understanding is most welcome.

STANLEY G. PITTS.

Japanese to Aid New University

Plan to Collect 150,000,000 Yen as Their Share of $15 Million Fund — New Church Council Organized

TOKYO, JAPAN, July 17.—A "Patrons' Association" has been formed here to conduct the campaign in this country for funds to build a Christian university at Tokyo. The association, headed by President Ichimada of the Bank of Japan, aims to raise 150,000,000 yen toward the total goal of $15,000,000. It will set up branches in the principal cities and in October will launch the drive for contributions. While non-Christian as well as Christian sources will be tapped, it is understood that the university is to be thoroughly Christian, and contributions will be solicited on that basis. No final decision has been reached on purchase of the Mitaka site in Tokyo. The sanction of SCAP and of the Japanese government must be secured before the present owners, whose properties are restricted because of their wartime activities, can sell. Meanwhile the Japan committee is eagerly watching the progress of the campaign in North America.

* * *

Roman Catholics Open Own News Agency

The Roman Catholic Church on June 5 inaugurated the Tosei (Eastern Star) news agency for supplying to the Japanese press news of the church in this country and abroad. The agency will make use of items gathered by the news service of the National Catholic Welfare Conference (U.S.) and by the international KIPA news agency of Switzerland. The date of its opening coincided with the visit to Japan of Francis Cardinal Spellman and 14 other Roman Catholic prelates. Perhaps in consequence of the churchmen's visit, Catholics here are initiating several new ventures. An all-Japan Catholic charities organization is to be in charge of all charitable and social work, though leaving supervision to the local bishops, and will maintain contact with similar organizations abroad and with the Japanese welfare ministry. There are also to be a national federation of Catholic students and a Catholic publishers' association. The first volume of the Catholic Encyclopedia in Japanese is off the press. Next year, celebration of the 400th anniversary of St. Francis Xavier's arrival in these islands is expected to bring thousands of pilgrims from abroad.

* * *

New National Christian Council Organized

After lengthy debate, the National Christian Council has been organized. In English it bears the same name as the prewar council, but the Japanese

name has been changed from Nippon Kirisutokyo Remmei to Nippon Kirisutokyo Kyogikai, to bring it closer to the implications of the word "council" and thus allay the fears of any church or mission that might otherwise think it was surrendering some of its autonomy. The basis is "organizations which believe in the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the Living God, as set forth in the Holy Bible." Charter members are the Church of Christ in Japan (23 members), the Episcopal Church (8), the United Lutheran Church (4), the Baptist Church (4), the Nazarene Church (3), and non-ecclesiastical bodies (21). Missionary representation comes to about one in four of the total. The officers are Messrs. Kozaki, chairman; Yashiro, vice-chairman; Ebizawa, secretary; and Kishimoto, treasurer. While the council's membership accounts for perhaps 95 per cent of the country's Protestant forces, a completely united front is the ideal. However, on the same day that it was organized (May 17) another body, called the Japan Protestant League, was formed by half a dozen of the smaller churches.

* * *

Cooperative Council Machinery Moves Smoothly

The machinery of the Council of Cooperation is getting well oiled. Through it the Kyodan and the eight churches belonging to the Interboard Committee on Christian Work in Japan carry on unified action in finance, building and missionary personnel for both churches and schools. The council has appointed Mrs. Tamaki Uemura and Miss Michi Kawai to represent women's interests in church and school, and Dr. William Axling to represent the home boards which, while not members of the Interboard Committee, cooperate with the Kyodan. A social service work budget contains as its largest item a Christian center for Osaka. Indigenous churches and missions not affiliated with the Kyodan have no share in the council's unified work, though many of them take part in the various interchurch conferences.

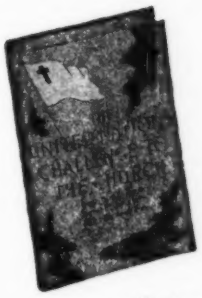
* * *

Relief Supplies Are Still Arriving

Ten prefabricated church buildings and food and clothing for church workers have just been received from the U.S. by the Church World Service office here. The first of a previous shipment of such buildings was dedicated at Kanagawa June 20. Another shipment of milch goats has arrived, with more goats and heifers to follow. LARA has just received the largest shipment of its splendid history in Japan. Broadening its scope, the China Children's Fund of Richmond, Va., has provided land and a subsidy for an orphanage at Kumamoto. Meanwhile, the final report of Japan's first community chest drive shows receipts of 571,071,681 yen, 84.2 per cent of the goal—a gratifying result for a country not accustomed to this way of giving.

GRACE K. KERR.

TO READ . . . TO PONDER



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No Segregation in Minnesota Guard

Gov. Youngdahl Declares Against Race Discrimination in State's Militia—Students Discuss Industry

ST. PAUL, July 14.—Segregation of Negroes in the Minnesota national guard is out so long as Governor Youngdahl is in office. The governor has asked the attorney general to sift state laws to determine whether there are any legal obstacles to integrating Negroes and whites in the Minnesota guard. "If we can't accomplish integration under our present laws, the 1949 legislature will be asked to enact such a statute," the chief executive said. "I think it a shame and a disgrace that Negroes are prohibited from having equal standing in the national guard. The army policy of segregation is wrong." Governor Youngdahl is listed as one of the main speakers at the North American Youth Conference to be held at Grand Rapids this summer.

* * *

Students Consider Labor-Management Problems

Thirty-nine college students hailing from both coasts and all the area between have converged on the Twin Cities for the summer in the fourth annual Twin Cities student industrial seminar, June 19-Aug. 28. During the day the young people are employed in local industries. The evenings they devote to seminar sessions which seek to utilize their actual employment experiences in the discussion of such questions as the chief problems in labor-management relations, the role of the church in labor-management relations, and the role of the public schools in improving these relations. Among them the 23 women and 9 men students represent four races and the three major faiths. The seminar is a summer project of the national student councils of the Y.M. and Y.W.C.A.'s and is sponsored by a committee of St. Paul and Minneapolis citizens. Dr. Hugo Thompson is chairman and Mr. and Mrs. Clarence Elliott are directors.

* * *

Minnesota Undisturbed by 'Champaign' Decision

Church leaders here are generally agreed that the Supreme Court's decision in the "Champaign case" will not affect the 25,000 pupils enrolled in weekday church schools in this state. Since Minnesota law specifically forbids the use of public school buildings for religious instruction, Attorney General J. A. A. Burnquist has ruled that "until the practice heretofore pursued under Minnesota laws is challenged," no change will be made. In a letter to Dean M. Schweickhard, state commissioner of education, he added: "It is, of course, the usual rule that public officials have the right to rely upon a statute until it is declared unconstitutional by some court, and that, unless it is clearly unconstitutional, it is the duty of the attorney general to represent the state and endeavor to have the statute upheld in the courts."

* * *

Swedish Pioneers Commemorated

Sixteen thousand Minnesotans braved steady rain on June 27 to attend the annual "Svenskarnas Day" at the state fair grounds here, which this year was a celebration of the centennial of the arrival of Swedish settlers in the upper midwest. Among the main speakers were Archbishop Erling Eidem of the Swedish state church and Prince Bertil of Sweden. The prince drew a parallel between pioneer days and modern times. "It was only by standing shoulder to shoulder in helping each other that the pioneers were able to triumph over their dangers," he said. "Similarly, it is only by stubbornly renewing our cooperative efforts to overcome the conflicts between nations that we shall be able to establish real peace and security." During the centennial ceremonies a monument was unveiled in St. Paul in honor of Jacob Fehlstrom, the first Swedish settler in Minnesota. Fahlstrom, a fur agent, was converted to Methodism about 1837, after which he established several missions and preached to Indian tribes as far north as Lake Superior. This has been one of many celebrations of a hundred years of Swedish immigration.

* * *

And So Forth

Richard C. Raines, for the past 18 years pastor of the Hennepin Avenue Methodist Church, was the first of the four new bishops to be elected by the North Central Methodist jurisdictional conference on July 7 at Indianapolis. Dr. Raines is regarded as an outstanding church leader in this area.

A unique venture in intergroup understanding was carried out at Camp Tipi Waken near here July 11-17 when a score of Jewish young people and the same number of young Protestants participated in lectures, discussions and recreation as an experiment in human relations. The project was sponsored jointly by the United Christian Youth Movement and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

"The Church Up the Street" is the title of a new radio program sponsored by the St. Paul and Minneapolis church councils on Sunday evenings over station WMIN. The 20-minute program aims to present the romance of the ministry of a city church. It is in charge of Jackson Wilcox, pastor of Park Baptist Church, St. Paul.

ALTON M. MOTTER.

World Lutheran Journal Makes Its Bow

First issue of the *Lutheran World Review*, theological quarterly of the Lutheran World Federation, has come from the presses of the Muhlenberg Press, Philadelphia.

Liquor Proposals Confuse Voters

Similar Initiatives on California Ballot Indicate One May Be Backed by 'Wet' Interests for a Purpose

SAN FRANCISCO, July 13.—It is believed in many quarters that liquor interests are behind the petition for a "local control" initiative on the November ballot in California. State temperance forces had already succeeded in placing on the ballot a local option ("local control by veto") initiative, which would be superseded by the new proposal for which "unidentified" interests have secured 394,115 signatures—second-highest for any initiative in the state's history. The latest proposal would keep minors and unescorted women from bars and reduce the ratio of licenses to one for each 2,500 of the population. The similarity of title and proclaimed purposes of the two initiatvse may produce considerable confusion among voters.

* * *

Cite Champaign Case as Reason For Closing Religion Classes

In spite of the state attorney general's ruling that the decision of the Supreme Court in the "Champaign case" does not affect the California practice of holding released time religious education classes only off school property, that decision continues to be used as an excuse for disbanding such programs. Latest casualty is in San Bruno, where 150 out of 1,500 pupils were released for religious instruction last year. The secretary of the San Bruno school board announced that another reason for discontinuing the practice was that dismissing some of the students for religious study interfered with the regular school schedule. The district superintendent added that pupils could go to their churches for instruction after regular school hours.

* * *

Suggests Presbytery Raise Minimum Stipend

A special committee of the San Francisco presbytery (Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.) has recommended that $3,000 and a manse figured at $720 be adopted as the minimum annual stipend for a minister and wife. In addition, $100 would be allowed for each child less than one year of age, $50 more for each year of age up to five, and $500 for each child six years of age or older. The committee also recommends that, in order to assist underpaid ministers, churches which pay their pastors more than the minimum contribute to a special pool three per cent of the amount in excess of the minimum.

* * *

California Methodists Debate Division of Conference

The California Methodist annual conference, meeting in Sstockton re-

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Editor: John A. MACKAY

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To study the central realities of Christian faith and life, and to set forth their meaning in clear and appropriate language.

To explore afresh the truths which were rediscovered by the Protestant Reformation, especially the tradition usually called Reformed, and to show their relevancy to the contemporary problems of the Church and Society.

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cently, voted to discontinue at the end of 1948 its support of the department of research and survey of the Northern Californian-Western Nevada council of churches. The delegates specified, however, that this action does not mean withdrawal from the council's comity plan. A high point of the conference was the debate on the wisdom of memorializing the Western jurisdictional conference for separation from the Southern California-Arizona conference and for appointment of a fourth bishop in the jurisdiction. (Bishop James C. Baker now administers the two conferences, plus the provisional Oriental and Latin conferences and the Hawaiian and Alaskan missionary districts.) The Methodists finally voted to memorialize the jurisdictional conference to return Bishop Baker to the California area and, in the event the area should be divided, to assign him to the area in which the California conference would be situated. They also voted to change the conference's name to California-Nevada.

* * *

ILO Officer Reports Food Shortage

At the international labor conference held here in June, Edward Phelan, retiring director general of the International Labor Office, reported that the world food situation has "possibly deteriorated" during the past year. He called attention to the growing inequality in the distribution of food, with some countries consuming 30 per cent less per capita than during the previous year, and others as much as 15 per cent more; widespread inflation; and unemployment, which has become a serious problem in Latin America, China, Italy and some parts of central and eastern Europe.

* * *

And So Forth

Buell J. Gallagher, formerly professor of social ethics at Pacific School of Religion and co-pastor of the interracial South Berkeley Community Church, won the Democratic congressional nomination in California's seventh district. He cross-filed in the Republican primary, but was unsuccessful. All labor organizations in the East Bay area gave Dr. Gallagher strong support.

Lynn T. White, for the past 28 years Margaret S. Dollar professor of social ethics at San Francisco Theological Seminary, retired at the end of the school year. He has been named professor emeritus, and Jacob A. Long, secretary of city and industrial work for the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., has been elected to succeed him.

This correspondent has resigned as director of research for the Northern California-Western Nevada council of churches to become associate professor of psychology at the College of the Pacific, Stockton.

W. Edgar Gregory.

Democratic Rift Widens

Primary Rules Barring Negroes May Bring Carolina Party Split

Chapel Hill, N.C., July 7.—Continued dissatisfaction among South Carolina Democrats with policies adopted by the recent state convention threatens to split the party. The state executive committee on June 17 refused to modify the rules which exclude Negroes from party membership or to change the oath required of voters in the primary. In four counties the party organization refused to follow the convention's rules and enrolled "professed Democrats" as party members regardless of race. They also announced that they would use the 1946 oath, which makes no mention of segregation or civil rights. A convention of "members of the Democratic party not in accord with rules and policies of the regular party," attended by 80 persons from 17 counties, met June 30 and urged that the party's state leadership be repudiated by the adoption of county rules. It also set up machinery for placing a separate ballot in the November election. Speakers charged that the present leaders, fearful of the loss of federal patronage, are trying to produce a situation in which they can make a deal with Republicans and thus remain in power.

* * *

Progressives to Nominate Congressmen

Challenged by the Progressive party of North Carolina (Wallace supporters), the state board of elections changed its ruling that new parties which qualify before November may place on the ballot only candidates for national offices. Progressives have announced that they will present nominees for Congress. The board refused, however, to modify the strict requirements for the qualification of new parties. Petitions are now being circulated to meet these requirements.

* * *

And So Forth

Report has it that 119 of the 124 students at Duke Divinity School have signed a petition requesting the administration to admit Negroes. Applications of three Negroes for admission to graduate schools of the University of North Carolina have been referred

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by the trustees to the state legislature. The spring issue of *Prophetic Religion*, journal of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, is devoted to the question of admitting Negroes to white universities.

Fifteen states and 20 dioceses of the Episcopal Church were represented at the 30th conference for church workers held at St. Augustine College, Raleigh. The conference is sponsored annually by the college and the American Church Institute for Negroes.

Cecil A. Jarman, Disciples minister of Wilson, N.C., has been appointed professor of religion at North Carolina State College.

Bernhard Anderson, formely of Colgate University, has assumed his duties as professor of Bible at the University of North Carolina.

HENRY G. RUARK.

The Church Roll

Stanley I. Stuber, director of public relations for the Northern Baptist Convention, will serve as assistant to Cecil Northcott of London in editing the daily newspaper to be published during the World Council assembly at Amsterdam.

Sigfrid E. Engstrom, director of the Lutheran Augustana Synod's Board of Home Missions, is spending the July-October period as consultant to the Church of Finland in the distribution of the $1,000,000 which Lutheran World Action has allocated to Finland for church relief and reconstruction.

Eunice Noda, who leaves in August to teach at Ferris Seminary, Yokahama, is the first nisei woman to go as a missionary to Japan from a Protestant church in the U.S. Her support will be provided by the First Reformed (Community) Church, Kew Gardens, Queens, N.Y.

Recent deaths in the field of religion: Adelaide Case, widely known authority in religious education and the first woman to become a full professor at an Episcopal seminary (Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass.), on June 19. . . . Samuel S. Marquis, dean of Michigan's Protestant Episcopal clergy and head of the Ford Motor Co.'s sociological department 1915-21, on June 21. . . . Georges Bernanos, French novelist and essayist whose theme was described as "Christian faith confronting the comfortable mediocrity of religious conventions and institutions with the ultimate and the absolute, with the living idea of God and his saints," on July 5. . . . Arthur W. Brooks, since 1925 a bishop of the Apostolic Episcopal Church, on July 7.

Current-Feature Films

Prepared by Independent Filmscores

M-Mature. Y-Younger. C-Children.

Deep Waters (Fox) *Drama.* State of Maine as guardian for orphan son of fisherman tries to wean him away from the sea, until a young lobsterman proves his way of handling the boy—headed for delinquency — is better. Actual Maine settings convey unique sense of reality for film that is unadorned, straightforward as to plot and performances, *appealing*, convincing. M, Y, C

Green Grass of Wyoming (Fox) *Drama.* More about young Ken McLaughlin, his father, the wild stallion Thlnderhead, life on the mountain ranch—plus an Ohio trotting race sequence for good measure. In technicolor. Beautiful settings, beautiful horses and a simple, *heart-warming* story. M, Y, C

Romance on the High Seas (War.) *Comedy.* Naive young night club singer's dreams are realized when she agrees to substitute for wealthy matron on South American cruise so wife can stay home to spy on her suspected husband, falls in love with detective set on wife's trail. As *frivolous* and artificial as the resumé sounds. Expensively set. M

Up in Central Park (Univ.) Deanna Durbin, Dick Haymes. *Comedy*, with some —but too infrequent—musical sequences, use Currier and Ives style ice ballet. Plot: young "reform" reporter's efforts to convince daughter of immigrant payroller her admiration, affection for Boss Tweed are misplaced. Interesting old-fashioned settings for film that *moves heavily*, too seldom comes alive. M, Y

BEST CURRENT FILMS

For Family: Fighting Father Dunne, Give My Regards to Broadway, I Remember Mama, Mr. Blandings Builds His Dream House, The Overlanders, The Search.

For Mature Audience: Another Part of the Forest, All My Sons, The Bishop's Wife, Call Northside 777, Captain Boycott, The Farmer's Daughter, Four Faces West, Frieda, The Fugitive, Gentlemen's Agreement, Great Expectations, I Know Where I'm Going, My Girl Tisa, The Senator Was Indiscreet, Shoe-Shine, So Well Remembered, Song of Love, State of the Union, The Treasure of the Sierra Madre. 8-4-48

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† N. B. Duplicate prizes were awarded in 1948 to *John Wick Bowman*, for his manuscript, THE RELIGION OF MATURITY; and to *Georgia Harkness*, for her manuscript, PRAYER AND THE COMMON LIFE.

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In the September Number of *The* PULPIT

The SEPTEMBER Pulpit will feature a sermon by BOYNTON MERRILL, minister of First Congregational Church, Columbus, Ohio. This sermon was delivered at the National Council of Congregational and Christian Churches, held in Oberlin, when tension was high over the decision with regard to the merger of that body with the Evangelical and Reformed Church. The sermon is entitled "All the Brothers Were Valiant."

In the same issue, the Pulpit introduces an outstanding Australian Methodist, ALAN WALKER, who is a delegate of the Methodist Church of Australasia to the Amsterdam Assembly of the World Council of Churches. His sermon is entitled "Christianity on the Defensive."

Two Labor Day Sermons

In line with its policy of publishing seasonal sermons, the Pulpit presents in September two Labor Day sermons. One, by CLARENCE E. LEMMON of Columbia, Mo., is entitled "What Are We Working For?" The other, "The Three Stonecutters," is by J. ROBERT GRAY of Pittsburgh, Pa.

DON'T MISS this issue containing these sermons—and others; also another in the series of articles on "Teaching a Congregation to Worship" by Wesley M. Westerberg.

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